THE CRISIS

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR: AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 25 No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1922 Whole No. 145

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Photograph of a Haitienne born in Paris.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 25. No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1922 Whole No. 145

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

"Not those who inflict most but those who suffer most will conquer."
—Terrence McSwiney.

TRUTH AND BEAUTY

IN November, 1910, THE CRISIS was born. With this issue, November, 1922, we are completing our twelfth year and we pause to thank all those who have made our long and fairly successful career possible. We have for the future both promises and apologies.

First, we want to apologize to the large number of people who subscribe indirectly to THE CRISIS and either do not get their subscriptions or have them delayed. It can be easily seen that this is not wholly the fault of THE CRISIS: THE CRISIS cannot fulfil a subscription until it receives it or at least receives notice that it has been paid. On the other hand, many subscriptions are taken in the drives for memberships of the N.A.A.C.P. and this has always been a great and valuable source of support for THE CRISIS. When, however, subscriptions are paid thus indirectly, first to a solicitor, then handed to a captain, then slowly collected by a local secretary, then forwarded to the national secretary, and finally handed to THE CRISIS business manager,—all this involves much delay and several possibilities of mistake. Anyone thus subscribing for THE CRISIS indirectly should always and simultaneously notify THE CRISIS office of the facts. If there is anyone who having thus subscribed has not received THE CRISIS, we shall be only too glad to learn tne facts and make all reparation.

So much for apology. Now to our muttons. THE CRISIS has always stood for Truth,—for the Truth when it is bitter, because we believe this is the only path to reform; for the Truth when it is sweet, for that heartens all. We shall continue to stand thus for the Truth. In addition to this we want to increase that part of our mission which, while not neglected, has had too little attention in the past, and that is the work of propagating and encouraging Beauty. We Negroes have gone fast forward in economic development, in political and social agitation; and we are likely to forget that the great mission of the Negro to America and the modern world is the development of Art and the appreciation of the Beautiful. The esthetic life of black folk is likely to be choked—not by toil, for they are gifted with that divine laziness that will rest and dream in spite of laws and lash and silly money; but with the over-emphasis of ethics to meet the Puritans round about who conceal their little joys and deny them with crass utilitarianism.

Why even our song — that vivid burst of sorrow burnt with joy—our love of life, the wild and beautiful desire of our women and men for each other—all, all this sinks to being "good" and being "useful" and being "white."

THE CRISIS wishes by picture and drawing, by fiction, essays, poetry, by the organization of a Negro Institute of Literature and Art, to increase, nourish and encourage the Beautiful

among Negroes and among Americans. As a beginning of this work for our New Year, we have the honor to announce a Christmas cover by Henry O. Tanner. And as a second step the *Delta Omega* Chapter of the *Alpha Kappa Alpha* Sorority at Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va., offers through THE CRISIS a prize of fifty dollars for the best short story written by a Negro student.

THE ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADERS

UNDER the leadership of Mrs. Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo and an executive committee of 15 supported by over 700 state workers, there has been started the "Anti-Lynching Crusade," the object of which is to "unite a million women to stop lynching." These crusaders are planning a short, sharp campaign beginning immediately and ending January 1, 1923. They seek to arouse the conscience of the women of America, both white and black. They are in deadly earnest and they put forward as the first fact in the lynching campaign the horrid truth that 83 American women have been lynched by mobs in the last 30 years in addition to 3,353 men. This, in part, is the prayer which the Anti-Lynching Crusaders have sent out:

"We are slain all the day long in the land of our nativity, which is the land of our loyalty and of our love. The vials of race vengeance are wreaked upon our defenceless heads. The inhuman thirst for human blood takes little heed of innocence or guilt. Any convenient victim identified with our race suffices to slake the accursed thirst. We are beaten with many stripes. Our bodies are bruised, burned and tortured and torn asunder for the ghoulish mirth of the blood-lusty multitude. Whenever such atrocity is perpetrated upon any one of our number, because of his race, it is done unto us all. Vengeance and wrath are not invoked for the fit atonement of committed crime, nor yet for the just punishment of evil doer; but the sinister aim is to cow our spirit, enslave our soul and to give our name an evil repute in the eyes of the world.

"Lawlessness is weakening the pillars of the temple of liberty. Laxity of law is speeding this people to the abyss of moral anarchy and social ruin. Thou didst set apart this nation in the wilderness of the new world to be an example unto all people of the blessings of liberty and law. May our nation measure up to the fulfillment of this high privilege. The land of lynchers can not long remain in the land of liberty. The nation that fails to destroy lawlessness will be destroyed by it. Save us from this evil fate.

"We pray Thee to enlighten the understanding and nerve the hearts of our lawmakers with the political wisdom and the moral courage to pass the Dyer Bill, now hanging on the balance of doubt and uncertainty.

"Have mercy upon any of our legislators who may be so embittered with the gall of race hatred and fettered by the bonds of political iniquity as to advocate or apologize for lynching, rapine and murder.

"Quicken the conscience of the people with the moral firmness and determination to demand and to uphold the effective enforcement of this measure and of all righteous laws.

"May liberty and law, peace and good will, prevail through the length and breadth of our beloved land, and may equity and justice be meted out with equal and impartial hand, unto the least even as unto the greatest.

"Amen."

At the meeting of the executive committee of the National Council of Women held at Fort Des Moines Hotel, Des Moines, Iowa, a body representing thirteen million American women, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That the National Council of Women endorse the Anti-Lynching Crusade recently launched by the colored women of this country."

Persons interested in this crusade should write to Mrs. M. B. Talbert, 521 Michigan Avenue, Buffalo, New York.

LIBERIA

THE Republic of Liberia has opened in connection with the State Department a Bureau that has for its object the collection and dissemination of all information of a kind from abroad, that will prove of value to Liberia; and such information from Liberia that will be of service to interested friends and well wishers abroad. . .

This Bureau was organized in May

of this year and I am now opening up a correspondence all through Liberia, and elsewhere in the world, in order to come in touch with men, measures, movements and events that will have some bearing upon the country and the work we are striving to do here in Liberia by way of exemplifying and demonstrating the fact that the Negro is capable, capacitated, and qualified for self-government and self-determination. . .

May we not ask you to render us all assistance in putting us in touch with such of our people on your side as would like to secure first-hand information about this country?

We need in this country new accessions from abroad. Some of the people who have come to Liberia and returned to the United States have tried to create an impression that the people of Liberia are inimical to, and do not want American Negroes to settle here. But this is not so; I think the trouble is that such persons came with wrong impressions of the country. They either expected a Paradise, or they expected just the opposite. Many expected to see a country highly developed and equipped with all the implements of modern civilization, a country ready made. Of course, these were disappointed, for Liberia in spite of her 100 years is yet a Pioneer State. On the contrary, those who came feeling that everybody in Liberia were illiterates and would take a backward seat and exalt them without having first tried them, they too were disappointed when they found that their surmises were ill founded.

But there are plenty of avenues and much room for the right kind of men in Liberia. They need not necessarily be men of high intellectual qualifications but they must be men and women fully imbued with the national and racial idea and spirit. . .

G. W. GIBSON

JAMES MADISON FRENCH

JAMES MADISON FRENCH of Sandusky, Ohio, a colored real estate dealer whom we mentioned in the September CRISIS, is dead. He has left a considerable estate. His will says:

"All of the remaining portion of my estate, both real and personal [amounting to about $100,000] I wish converted into money as soon as expedient and practicable after my death. When this is done I desire my executors to invest said money in a prudent, safe and businesslike manner where it will be productive of a substantial and profitable income. This income I desire given annually to the Trustees or other proper officers of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Lorain County, Ohio, for the sole purpose of aiding deserving Afro-American students in obtaining an education in said institution. Or if said gift is not accepted by said Trustees or other proper officers of said college for such purpose, or if so accepted but not so used or if there is any abuse or misuse of said funds on the part of said College, or its officers, then and in that event I desire said income paid by my executors to the Trustees or other proper officers of Wilberforce College, Wilberforce, Ohio, for a similar benefit for deserving Afro-American students. The College last referred to being now especially for such students. Or if said latter College does not accept said bequest or accepting the same there is any abuse or misuse of said funds by it or its officers, then and in that case I desire said income expended for a similar purpose at some other good College or institution of learning and education in the United States of America, for deserving Afro-American youth. I leave the selection of such institution to the discretion and wisdom of my said executors, with all and singular the conditions attaching said bequest as hereinbefore described. If, perchance said executors cannot agree in such selection, I desire and empower the Probate Court of this County of Erie to decide the matter, but such decision must be consistent with my wishes as herein expressed. . . . I wish the principal and income of my estate, as aforesaid, invested and expended, respectively, in the manner described for a period of fifty years from and after my death, at the expiration of which time the institution last using the income shall have the principal for the sole purpose and object named."

The president of Oberlin writes us that he knows "no reason why Oberlin should refuse to do what Mr. French asks."

CO-OPERATION

IN January, 1922, we said the Co-operative Society of America was a gigantic fraud. Constantine A. Morgan of Springfield, Ohio, questions the fact and refers us to Harrison Parker of Chicago for "information." We do not require any information from Harrison Parker, who is at the head of this fraud. We subjoin this additional statement from the Co-operative League:

"The 'Co-operative Society of America' is not co-operative in any sense in which that word is employed by the Co-operative Movement in this country or abroad. The Society has been condemned as a 'co-operative fraud' by the following reputable organizations: The Co-operative League (the national educational federation of the U. S. consumers' societies), the Federation of Greater New York Co-operatives, the New York Central Trades & Labor Council, the Chicago Central Labor Union, the Bloomington (Ill.) Central Labor Union, the Catholic National Welfare Council, and many other such organizations whose integrity cannot be questioned. The Chairman of the Committee on Co-operative Wholesale Society has actively fought Harrison Parker's spurious society.

"Agents of the C. S. O. A. have been arrested in many states for violating the Blue Sky Laws. The Society has been barred from selling its securities in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and other states. The Michigan Securities Commission, which passed upon an application of the Michigan branch of the C. S. O. A. to endorse their securities, refused to permit them to do business in that state, and characterized their scheme of operation as a 'fraud on the public.'

"THE CRISIS is to be commended for printing the editorial in question. In our opinion, it would be well to publish at this time an emphatic warning to the Negroes of the Harlem district. A drive is being conducted to sell as many 'certificates' as possible to the Negro population of Harlem, and as a result, many people will undoubtedly tie up their money in dubious securities, unless publications such as yours take vigorous action. We would appreciate any publicity you could give to the facts in this matter."

SIKI

ME have a feeling, a sort of dim premonition, that boxing is going to become immoral again. You know that before the war it fell from its high estate because Jack Johnson did not have the grace to be whipped by Jim Jeffries. Even the late Lord Northcliffe, that delicious impersonation of the Anglo-Saxon bounder, who had made world-wide arrangements to picture the victory of the white man in his *Daily Mirror* all over the earth, rose to heights of self-abnegation when Johnson won. He said, said he, with ponderous seriousness, "I do not think it is wise to glorify the victory of a Negro over a white man, and, besides, the pictures themselves are likely to prove offensive to our decent women readers." And now we have Mr. Jack Dempsey carefully avoiding the fists of Harry Wills and on top of this comes Siki and Carpentier! This is too much. We are expecting the *Christian Endeavor* to mobilize its forces as it did in 1910.

THE ELAINE PEONS

TWELVE black men were unjustly sentenced to death for alleged "rioting" at Elaine, Arkansas, in October, 1919. At a total cost of over $40,000, of which the N. A. A. C. P. has raised and expended to date, $12,795 and local colored folk over $30,000, the cases have been brought to the following status:

None of the twelve has been hanged, but they are still in jail under sentence of death.

Six of these men have been tried, their cases appealed and death sentence affirmed by the Supreme Court of Arkansas. These cases have been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of *certiorari*. They will probably come up for trial in January, 1923.

The other six men have twice been sentenced to death, their convictions twice reversed by the Arkansas Supreme Court and a new trial ordered. A change of venue to Lee County has been secured and the cases will probably be retried in October. If the Prosecuting Attorney does not bring

up the cases then, they will lapse, because untried for two years, and the men will go free.

Attorneys' fees of $10,000 are still due. Of this sum $7,000 has been raised in Arkansas and the N. A. A. C. P. has promised $2,250. Will the reader help by sending a contribution of any amount to J. E. Spingarn, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City?

K. K. K.

Sept. 15, 1922.

PLEASE enter subscription to your magazine THE CRISIS *for one year, mailing same to address given below. Post Office Money Order for* $1.50 *enclosed. Yours truly,*

J. J. Murphy,

Kleagle, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, P. O. Box 612, *Birmingham, Ala.*

We have received few subscriptions with more pleasure than this. We have perhaps neglected our offer to comment upon the K. K. K. because it has always seemed to us so ridiculous an organization. But now that we may speak to them, as it were, face to face, we would like to say plain words from time to time. *First*, the Klan is ridiculous; it is Mumbo Jumbo, child's play, silly parading, calculated to attract idiots and criminals. *Secondly*, it is cowardly; it hides and masks and sneaks by night; it does not dare to stand out in the open; it is afraid and ashamed of itself; and there seems to be no connection between what it does and what it says, between what it professes and what it supports. *Thirdly*, it is powerful. Its very appeal and methods give it power in that part of the land where ignorance is most deep seated. It has triumphed in elections, sweeping Texas, electing a governor in Georgia, showing its fangs elsewhere; but notwithstanding all this, it is, for the better South, the most hopeful mob in years. It is going to drive the "best friends of the Negro", the pussyfooters and compromisers, the sincere well-wishers, out into the open. For 50 years the South has tried to build up a civilization on lawlessness and "nigger" hating, and at the same time it has tried by excuses and smooth words to hide its deeds from its own better self, and from the outer world. Today the Ku Klux Klan comes as an open, clear avowal that the Worse South proposes to set up a government ruled by secret midnight marauders whose object is to murder, insult and disfranchise Negroes, Jews, Catholics and anybody else whom any clansman hates or fears. Against this organization, sooner or later, the decent white South must take a stand. It must take it not simply in words with "ifs" and "ands" but with straight-out, manly determination backed, by word and deed, publicly to unmask the cowards, to stop lynching, lawlessness and mobs, and to defend the rights of American citizens.

THANKS

Aux Cayes,
Rep. D'Haiti,
27th Aug., 1922.

SIR, I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor dated August 10, 1922, bearing checks for $19.50 . . .

I thank you very much, sir, but I will never be able to be grateful enough for the splendid help THE CRISIS has given me. I have received $10 otherwise from unknown people who have read my letter in THE CRISIS and there is another who has written making inquiries . . .

A long life to THE CRISIS and the recognition of all of its great and splendid works, will be my prayer ever. Yours obediently,

JOHN FRANCIQUE.

ALPHA HOSPITAL, COLUMBUS, OHIO

EAST LONG STREET

NIMROD B. ALLEN

LENOX AVENUE is in New York; in Chicago is State Street; Louisville has its Walnut Avenue; Cleveland its Central Avenue and Columbus its East Long Street.

Columbus estimates its population at 250,000, of whom 25,000 are Negroes. Columbus composes the greater portion of Franklin County and has the unique distinction of having been created to be the capital of Ohio. Neither Zanesville nor Chillicothe, where the legislature has sat, was suitable. Thus Columbus was settled by no special group of immigrants but by statesmen and politicians of the state.

On coming to Columbus one is impressed by the many state institutions within its borders. We find there hospitals for feebleminded and for imbeciles, the Ohio State Penitentiary, and institutions for the blind and deaf. The Ohio State University and the capital with its various departments are located in Columbus. This has had its effect upon the constituent part of our population, especially upon the Negro.

Until quite recently the Negro population of Columbus was considered the most backward of that of the four largest cities in the state. Mr. Quillin (white), in his "Color Line in Ohio," published in 1913, states: "Columbus, the capital of Ohio, has a feeling toward the Negroes all its own. In all my travels in the state, I found nothing just like it. It is not so much a rabid feeling of prejudice against the Negroes simply because their skin is black as it is a bitter hatred for them because they are what they are, character and habits. The Negroes are almost completely outside the pale of the white people's sympathy in this city, but the latter justify themselves and in fact many of the better class of Negroes agree with them, on the ground that so many of the Negroes are proving themselves by their attitude and conduct unworthy of the respect of decent people. This condition of affairs has been growing by leaps and bounds during the last five or ten years. Most of the colored people say that it is only since the coming of a large number of disreputable southern Negroes that affairs have grown worse. The white people seem to think that the late comers are prone to assert 'their rights' a little too freely. Whatever the cause may be, this much is evi-

dent—the feeling against the Negroes is bitter in the extreme."

Prior to the migration Negroes were engaged principally in domestic and personal service while a few held political jobs handed out by the politicians for service rendered.

The Negro center of Columbus has always been Long Street. It is reputed that 30 years ago the Negroes owned practically all the property between 3rd and High streets, including the land where one of the largest banks now stands. They did not live farther east than 4th Street. During that time there were separate schools in Columbus and on the corner of Long and 3rd Streets was the Loving High School and just west was the elementary school. Negroes conducted restaurants, barber shops and saloons, of which there were nine within four blocks. On the north side of the street between 3rd and High Streets was the St. Paul A. M. E. Church, yet standing. The Second Baptist Church was located just one block away from St. Paul's Church, on Gay Street. From High to 3rd on Long Street was always a seething mass of Negroes who lived in hovels and alleys along Gay, 4th and 3rd Streets. There were not 75 Negro families in the city of Columbus living outside of this section in those days.

If you were to imagine in your mind's eye a river coursing its way straight to the sea, being fed by tributaries from its northern boundaries that were directly opposite those of the southern boundaries, you would have an idea of East Long Street from the point of view of Negroes and white people. East Long Street is the river that is fed by all of the cross-section streets, from Long Street to Mt. Vernon Avenue, by Negroes, and the social, political and business life of this section is largely influenced by what happens on Long Street, which receives its white people from the southern tributaries.

In 1904 the officers of St. Paul A. M. E. Church purchased a site on East Long Street, near Jefferson Avenue, upon which the church now stands. It was the moving of this congregation and the erection of an Odd Fellows' Hall by Negroes some time previous, on the corner of Garfield Avenue and Long Street, together with the increased value of property on Long Street, near High, that caused the exodus of Negroes farther east on Long. In this vicinity there are today 10 Negro physicians, 6 dentists, 10 churches, 2 drug stores, 2 undertakers, and over one hundred Negro owners of homes. These are scattered all the way from Ninth Street to Taylor Avenue, and it is predicted that Long Street from Jefferson to Woodlin Avenues will be owned in the not distant future by Negroes.

The white people receding from Long Street refuse to rent to Negroes but will sell; consequently the homes are being purchased and not rented. Be it remembered that high prices are paid for the homes and the desire of the white people, with means, to live in the fashionable, suburban sections, causes sales of homes to Negroes over the protest of their white neighbors who object to living next to Negroes.

The Long Street Improvement Association, composed of white business men on Long Street, interests itself in the development of Long Street property and in the meantime uses its influence to keep colored people from purchasing property on this street. This organization recently submitted a proposal to the City Council, that the name of East Long Street be changed from East Long Street to Commerce Street, from High to Jefferson; be it remembered also that Jefferson Avenue is where the Negro business enterprises of East Long Street begin. The more enthusiastic supporters of East Long Street have asked that this section of East Long Street be named Golden Lane. The proposals are yet before the City Council. They are meeting the opposition of Negro business and professional men of East Long Street.

There are some unique features on East Long Street that should be mentioned. The Williams Building, a photograph of which is here published, is owned exclusively by a young Negro who came to Columbus from Virginia ten years ago. This is an office building in which is located the Supreme Life & Casualty Insurance Company, the National Benefit Life Insurance Company, the Fireside Mutual Aid Association, the Columbus Industrial Mortgage & Security Company, the American Woodmen, the Columbus Urban League, the Williams' Real Estate & Rentals, two physicians, one dentist, a modiste, two real estate concerns and one attorney. This building is located on the corner of Long Street and Lexington Avenue, and is one of the most outstanding

buildings east of High Street. Just east of this building on the opposite side of the street is located the Empress Theatre and office building, owned by Messrs. J. E. Williams* and Albert Jackson, and erected at a cost of $50,000. The theatre has a pipe organ that cost $10,000, and no motion picture house in the city is better equipped nor runs finer pictures than does the Empress.

On the corner of Long and 17th Streets is the Alpha Hospital. This was erected by Drs. W. A. Method and R. M. Tribbitt at a cost of $23,000 as a private institution, but later developments proved that there was a larger opportunity for service by making Alpha Hospital a social agency; so the Alpha Hospital Association was formed recently with Dr. W. A. Method as Chief of Staff. The Alpha Hospital Association conducts a nurses' training school which is the only place in the city where any girl of good moral character and education may complete a course in nurses' training.

On the corner of Garfield Avenue and Long Street is the Colored Odd Fellows' Hall Building, which has three floors and a business annex. The entire building is easily worth $50,000. This is one of the first buildings owned by Negroes to be erected on East Long Street. There are nearly one hundred business enterprises on East Long Street and vicinity, embracing haberdasheries, photographers, optometrists, music shops, music studios, beauty parlors, printing establishments, corporations, tailors, etc. These enterprises are without the ear mark common to many Negro undertakings.

This progress is not without its problems. To the south of Long Street are found some of the wealthiest and most influential white citizens. To the north of Long Street, toward Mt. Vernon Avenue, and on Lexington Avenue toward Taylor Avenue, going east, are to be found fully 75 percent of Columbus' Negro population. Both the whites and black people use principally the Long Street car and occasionally there has been race friction on this car which if sober judgment had not come into play might have caused serious embarrassments to the city. This race tension is being relieved by automobile busses that are operated on a parallel street and are patronized by a large proportion of white people who live east. The busses do not discriminate against Negroes.

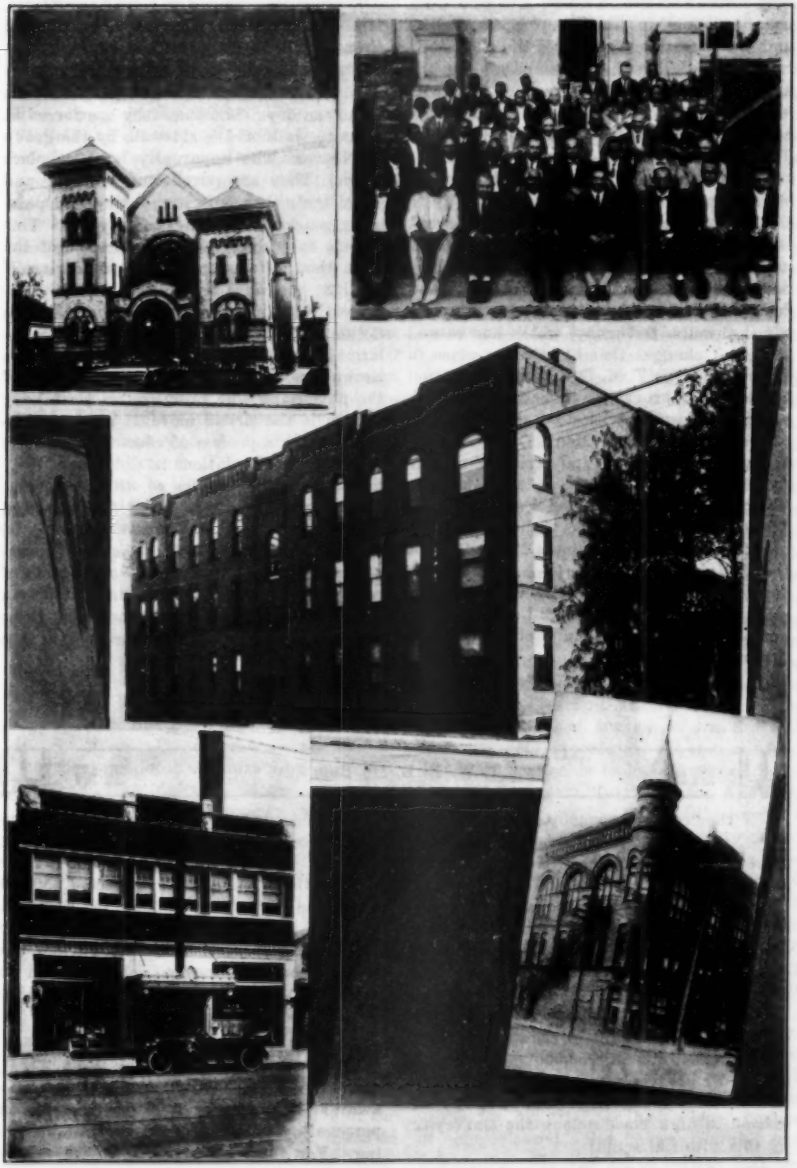
Another problem on East Long Street is the proposed erection of the Centenary M. E. Church for Negroes on the corner of 18th and Long Streets, which is within a stone's throw of the Welch Presbyterian Church (white), dedicated less than six months ago. The erection of the Welch Presbyterian Church cost, we understand, about $90,000. There are being put forth strong efforts by the white people interested to prevent the erection of this church for Negroes. The change of pastors of the congregation at a recent conference of the M. E. Church has been interpreted by some as an indication that the Negro Centenary Church will not be erected on this site. On 19th and Long Streets the Negro Masons have purchased a site upon which to erect a temple.

Franklin Park, the most beautiful and spacious park in Columbus and one of the best in the state, is located at the end of the Long Street car line, just one square south of Long Street. It is bounded on four sides by select white citizens of Columbus. This park has become the rendezvous for Negro youths. It is used during the week days mostly by white people but on Sundays mostly by Negroes. Some few months ago an effort was made to have the city purchase another park which would be located about three squares north of Long Street. This proposition was opposed by Negro leaders. They feared that the purpose was to induce Negroes from Franklin Park to this smaller, and less attractive park.

The Champion Avenue School, the only school exclusively for Negroes in Columbus, is one square and a half from East Long Street. Being in a Negro district it is theoretically not a Negro school but is officered entirely by Negro teachers, with the exception of a manual training teacher, and all of the pupils are Negroes. Any white child who lives in that section may attend another school if he wishes. This school has a Junior High School Department. An additional building to be used by this Junior High is being bitterly opposed by groups of Negroes.

Columbus' Negro citizens have made very noticeable and rapid progress within the last few years. The citizens credit this progress to the influx of Southern Negroes

*Mr. Williams has died since the writing of this article.



ST. PAUL A. M. E. CHURCH

STOCKHOLDERS, SUPREME LIFE & CASUALTY COMPANY

WILLIAMSON BUILDING

EMPRESS THEATRE AND OFFICE BUILDING

ODD FELLOWS' BUILDING

who refused to live in alleys and who were used to being in business for themselves and to the getting together of the Negro citizens to "put over" the campaign for the erection of the Spring Street Y. M. C. A. The campaign for the Y. M. C. A. was started in 1916; the building was erected in 1918. This Y. M. C. A. has a unique feature—the Business and Professional Men's Club which meets every Tuesday noon and is to the Negro business men of Columbus what the Rotary, The Kiwanis and such clubs are to the white people. It is addressed by men of affairs in and out of Columbus and from this has come the inspiration acknowledged through testimony, which has caused the great changes that have taken place in Columbus. The Y. M. C. A. has in operation a standard program—educational, social, religious, physical, with a boys' department.

From the Business Men's Club come directly the Columbus Industrial Mortgage & Security Company, the Adelphi Loan & Savings Company, and the Favorite Shop. The Credential Mortgage Company is composed of men of the Business Men's Club of the Spring Street Y. M. C. A. and has its regular meetings there. Practically all the stock of the Supreme Life & Casualty Company that was sold in Columbus went through men of this club.

There is this danger on East Long Street. The block between Hamilton and Garfield Avenues, where the greatest number of Negro business enterprises are located, has become the rendezvous for "hangers-out" both night and day. The passersby are forced at times to walk off the sidewalk by the group of Negroes who apparently have no place to go. They are purchasing nothing, and spend their time loitering, gazing and passing remarks concerning pedestrians. This is done to such an extent that some of the most thoughtful citizens are wondering if it might not cause serious trouble in the future. This and other racial problems in Columbus are being studied by the Race Relations Committee of the Columbus Urban League of which Dr. W. J. Woodlin, one of the physicians who practices on East Long Street, is the prime mover. This committee, through a process of education, hopes to better the race relations in Columbus.

The receding families of white people on East Long Street are being fast replaced by progressive Negro citizens and it is no wild fancy to predict that the next generation will find a score or more of Negroes of real wealth from business accumulations on East Long Street; even now we have those who count their monthly incomes in the thousands.

LEROY BUNDY

W. E. B. Du Bois

AT the "court" ceremony held by Marcus Garvey in Harlem, August 10, among those who kneeled to the "High Potentate" and received the accolade was Dr. Bundy, of East St. Louis fame, who rose to his feet as "Sir" Leroy Bundy, "Knight Commander of the Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia." On August 25, "Sir" Leroy was elected "First Assistant" of Marcus Garvey by a vote of approximately 104 to 76 for his opponent, these being all the voting delegates present out of "150,000" advertised to attend Mr. Garvey's convention. The *Negro World* immediately celebrated Bundy's accession to high place among the Garveyites by this editorial squib:

"The Editor of THE CRISIS and other representatives of the N. A. A. C. P. have frequently asked about the balance sheet of the U. N. I. A., but we would like to make inquiry about the balance sheet of the N. A. A. C. P. In the Fall of 1917 and winter of 1918 the N A. A. C. P. collected $50,000 to defend Dr. Leroy Bundy of East St. Louis riot fame. One hundred and fifty dollars was spent of this $50,000, and the balance sheet has never been published to show what was done with the remaining $48,500. *Where did this money go?*"

From the beginning the N. A. A. C. P. and THE CRISIS have determined to fritter away as little time and space as possible in personal controversy or in internal bickering. For that reason we hesitated nearly two years in commenting on the Garvey movement even when we were being subjected to insult and innuendo uncalled for

and unmerited. So too, despite the fact that for nearly four years we have been accused publicly by Dr. Bundy, first of unjust treatment and neglect in his case and now of theft, we have only replied briefly to the first charge in the September CRISIS, 1918. We have, of course, published an accounting of all funds put in our hands for all purposes in our annual reports. We have kept silent concerning Dr. Bundy simply because we did not wish to publish the whole unsavory truth. Evidently the time has now come to speak plainly.

WHO does not remember the Second of July, 1917? On that red day in East St. Louis, Illinois, a mob destroyed $400,000 worth of property, drove out 6,000 Negro laborers and murdered between one and two hundred Negroes. Our hearts were sick within us. The N. A. A. C. P. immediately took its usual steps: *First*, to ascertain the truth; *second*, to learn what could be done to relieve and punish.

Three trained investigators, two white and one colored, were rushed to the city before the embers were cold and the corpses removed. An investigation was organized, so thorough and so careful, that it was used by local courts and the Congress of the United States as one of the main bases of fact. It was published in part in THE CRISIS for September, 1917.

Meantime the St. Louis branch of the N. A. A. C. P., together with various churches and local organizations undertook relief and legal defense. Money was raised and expended and emergency work done. The St. Louis branch, which is a careful, business-like organization, arranged to have all funds carefully accounted for. This caused some local friction at first with some who thought the N. A. A. C. P. too meticulous, but this gradually disappeared and all worked together.

As soon as it was apparent that in the legal proceedings the Negro was to be made the "goat," and a dozen Negroes were convicted as "rioters," James Weldon Johnson, then Field Secretary, wired the St. Louis branch: "The national office will back the St. Louis branch to the limit in the fight for the men you believe to be innocent. Send to this office at your earliest convenience opinion of counsel as to grounds for appeal."

Meantime the case of Dr. Leroy Bundy leaped to the fore. Here we understood was a successful professional man, a leader of his local group in East St. Louis, who, when riot was threatened, advised the colored people to arm themselves and that because of this he was arrested, thrown into jail and accused of murder and inciting to riot. This seemed to us an ideal case. We were determined to leave no stone unturned to secure vindication for Dr. Bundy and, with this, the great and sacred right of self-defense for American Negroes in the face of mobs. We determined to appeal to the colored people throughout the United States for a Bundy defense fund; but without waiting for this, we used our anti-lynching fund and the general fund of the organization to prepare for Dr. Bundy's defense.

In a case of this sort, much, if not everything, depends upon the standing and reputation of the lawyers which the defense can secure. It is fatal to go into court with obscure, inexperienced, or unlearned counsel. The success of the N. A. A. C. P. hitherto in the courts has been their ability to secure as counsel, men whom money could not buy and whose fees for ordinary work would be beyond anything that we could raise. Thus the prestige of Moorfield Storey, who charged us nothing, helped win the segregation case. And thus in the Bundy case we were able to secure Charles Nagel, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor in the Cabinet of President Taft and one of the most distinguished lawyers in the State of Missouri. Mr. Nagel gave his services free. Later we were able to have the services of Edward O. Brown, Justice of the Appellate Court of the First District of Illinois, and a widely known lawyer. Judge Brown charged no fee. In addition to this we hired the services of Webb & Zerwick and Thomas N. Webb, well-known criminal lawyers of St. Louis, and with these were associated Mr. Phillips, a colored attorney. Thus, as Mr. Charles Nagel wrote us afterward, "Every reasonable provision had been made for the proper defense of Dr. Bundy."

While we were raising money and securing counsel, there came our first and most heart-breaking trouble. Bundy was in jail. Properly defended and with a change of venue for his trial, he had a good chance of being cleared. But he was worried and frightened. He was led to believe that political influence was more important than legal defense. He feared that the Democratic administration of East St. Louis, with

which he had been identified, was going to betray him and that his only chance lay in making a bargain of some sort with the Republican Attorney-General who was prosecuting him.

This may have been true but surely Bundy's first duty as an honest man was to take up this matter with his counsel and with the N. A. A. C. P. He says that he did discuss it with his colored attorney, Homer G. Phillips. This may be true, but it is certainly true that no officer of the N. A. A. C. P., and neither Mr. Nagel nor Webb and Zerwick nor Thomas N. Webb dreamed of any such move by Bundy, until suddenly they were faced with the report that Bundy had "confessed" to the States Attorney! A meeting was hurriedly called in Mr. Nagel's office to learn what statements Bundy had made.

To understand the enormity of Bundy's deed, we must remember what East St. Louis was. It was a center of manufacturing and big business where the life of the town was given over to politicians of the most corrupt sort. It was a "wide-open" town, with liquor, gambling, prostitution, and crime of all sorts. Girls were ruined, boys were drunk, murder was common, gambling was open. There are few centers in the United States that had a worse reputation than East St. Louis. Indeed it was all this filth and lawlessness that made the riot possible because with any kind of a city government the mob could have been quelled in a few hours. Who, now, was responsible for this condition? It was the same old story: a group of politicians of the lowest sort held the city in a vise by the simple method of buying votes, colonizing illegal voters and then collecting graft from saloons, gamblers and prostitutes to pay for all this and make themselves rich. So long as they did not molest or tax the factories and "big business," they were supreme and the decent elements in the city were helpless and almost voiceless.

Leroy Bundy in the face of these disgraceful facts, and without consulting his benefactors or main counsel, called in the Attorney-General and confessed that he was one of the tools and go-betweens who herded and bought Negro votes by the wholesale to keep the East St. Louis political scoundrels in power.

I grant Bundy every legitimate excuse: he was in jail. He was scared blue. He was afraid his political cronies had betrayed him. He was told by some friends that his only chance of escape was to "double-cross" the Democratic "gang" and make a bargain with the Republican Attorney General. I grant all this. But I maintain that even if every word of this had been true, the least that anybody with a spark of manhood or decency could do was to tell the N. A. A. C. P., Mr. Nagel and his attorneys, Webb & Zerwick, and Thomas Webb, what he proposed to do. Bundy did nothing of the kind. He called in the Republican Attorney-General of the State of Illinois and confessed to him that he was one of the tools and go-betweens of the corrupt Democratic administration in East St. Louis. He did this without the knowledge of his leading attorney, Charles Nagel, and afterward when it came to Mr. Nagel's ears it was published against Mr. Nagel's advice. He did it without the knowledge of Webb & Zerwick and without the knowledge of Mr. Thomas Webb. He did it solely upon his own initiative and possibly with the advice of Mr. Phillips. It was an outrageous action and it put his attorneys and especially the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a most difficult position.

One can see this by noting the comment of the newspapers. The St. Louis *Post Dispatch* said November 25, 1917, *"Bundy tells of vast vote frauds in East St. Louis." "The affidavit containing more than* 9,000 *words tells of alleged wholesale frauds." "Bundy admitted that he supported those who practiced this scheme." "Bundy was a leader in a Negro political organization which supported this faction."*

The St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, November 27, says in an editorial:

"There is seemingly no end to the political corruption openly practiced in East St. Louis. Attorney-General Brundage is in possession of the detailed confession of political offenses made by a Negro leader charged with participation in the murder of city officials which furnished part of the provocation for the race massacre in July. This confession deals with wholesale vote-buying in three elections practiced directly and through the easy device of "hiring workers." . . . There is verisimilitude to the story but the reputation of the witness and the character of the testimony itself required corroborative evidence which is said to be available."

The East St. Louis *Star*, November 25, says: *"Bundy's confession is being investigated by the Federal District Attorney."*

The Chicago *Herald*, November 26, said: "*Bundy said* $300 *was paid to him by a campaign manager in the last municipal election for the expense of handling the Negro vote.*" The Chicago *Daily News*, November 26, says: "*Bundy's confession startled Illinois.*"

Imagine our situation. We were making a hero of Bundy. We were holding him up as a brave and persecuted man, who in the midst of crime and lawlessness, had told the people to arm in self-defense. In the midst of all this Mr. Bundy comes out and confesses that he is hand and glove with the men and is part of the system which made East St. Louis a city of corruption and made it possible for such a horrible riot to go on without interference by the authorities.

We went into long and careful conferences. What were we to do? Mr. Nagel voiced our final decision. Bundy's confession "was quite sufficient to justify, if not to necessitate, my withdrawal from further activity in the case; but when a man's life and liberty are at stake, a good many concessions must be made, and I was at pains to make sure that Dr. Bundy would at least be competently represented, as your Association had directed."

Our final position was then that while Bundy was not the man whom we could have much to do with, yet that technically so far as the actual charges of inciting to riot were concerned he was without doubt innocent. It was our duty, therefore, to continue his defense and this we did. Between July, 1917 and May, 1918, the national office of the N. A. A. C. P. received for "East St. Louis relief and legal defense" $1,726.19. The money was expended as follows:

Traveling and investigating expenses	$873.60
Printing of East St. Louis pamphlets	497.04
News cuts of riot	19.50
Miscellaneous	7.11
Remitted to St. Louis Branch:	
For general relief and legal defense	381.18
For Dr. Bundy	570.82
Total	$2,349.25

The deficit of $623.06 was taken from our Anti-Lynching and Mob Violence Fund raised before the East St. Louis riots.

The St. Louis branch of the N.A.A.C.P. expended in all $4,312.95 for relief and legal defense in connection with the East St. Louis riot. This money was received from the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. and from fraternal orders, churches, N.A.A.C.P. branches, women's clubs, army posts and individuals. Of this amount $1,632 was specially designated for the legal defense of Dr. Bundy and was received from the following sources:

Lodges	$10.00
Churches	84.28
Individuals:	
Rev. Charles Bundy	355.00
Thomas Crawford and wife	101.00
Subscription lists:	
Earle Williams	35.00
Benjamin Lucas	122.25
Chicago "Defender"	353.65
National Office, N. A. A. C. P.	570.82
Total	$1,632.00

The disbursements were as follows:

Nov. 7, 1917, Thos. M. Webb, attorney fee	$500.00
Nov. 20, 1917, filing of affidavits, H. G. Phillips	132.00
Jan. 20, 1918, Thos. M. Webb, attorney fee	250.00
Mar. 18, 1918, Thos. M. Webb, attorney fee	250.00
Mar. 18, 1918, Webb & Zerwick, attorney fee	500.00
Total	$1,632.00

In addition to this Mr. Bundy, together with the other colored defendants charged with rioting, benefited from the following additional expenditures from funds designated as "for general legal defense":

Lawyers' fees:	
Mr. Phillips	$804.35
Webb & Zerwick	914.00
	$1,718.35

The balance of the $4,312.95 received by the East St. Louis branch, $962.60, was expended for general relief.

With the monies thus collected and expended the legal defense fund administered by the national office of the N. A. A. C. P. and the St. Louis branch secured a change of venue for Dr. Bundy and his release on bail and carried the cases of eleven other defendants to the Supreme Court of Illinois.

We had, however, little time for self-congratulation. April 5, 1918, we received a letter from the Chairman of the Executive Committee of our St. Louis branch which said:

"This St. Louis branch, N. A. A. C. P., is of the disposition to terminate its activities in the defense of Dr. L. N. Bundy in so far as such defense may be set up independent of the defense of Bundy's co-defendants, now imprisoned and awaiting decision on an appeal.

"Dr. Bundy is now at liberty on bond and confidently asserts his ability, and desire, to personally raise all required funds and do all else that is necessary to assure his best defense. He is intolerant of the fiscal plan of this branch, which was devised to forestall money scandals; and, although he requests this branch to pay a large volume of bills of his making, it has not been possible

to get him to conference with our executive committee.

"While we have no detailed information of his contemplated adventures, we foresee the possibility of situations therewith abounding that will embarrass and discredit our organization if it be associated with them.

"We do not believe the vast fund that Dr. Bundy essays to raise [$50,000] is a necessity to his defense and, consequently, we regard his proposed nation-covering tour for funds an imposition on a public that has been sympathetic with, and generous to, him and as a junket that will demoralize many worthy Negro causes in the future. Indeed, we believe Dr. Bundy's defense is, in the main, perfected for trial."

On June 1 the secretary of the St. Louis branch wrote:

"Since our letter of April 5 we held a conference with Dr. Bundy and friends on April 11, 1918. He stated that he desired that we support him and wife until his trial; that we pay bills that amount to two thousand dollars ($2,000.00) which he had incurred, and that he wanted to go out on a lecture tour to secure funds with the endorsement of the Association. We could not accept the latter plan. He became very indignant because we failed to endorse his suggestions and left the conference after accusing the branch of dishonest dealings with him and negligence.

"At a subsequent meeting of our Executive Committee of this branch the following motion prevailed: 'That we withdraw from the Bundy case and that history of case with collections and expenditures be sent to the national office so that the public may be informed of the same.'"

On April 11 Mr. Bundy telegraphed us to send a representative at once to St. Louis because he was "grossly misrepresented and to a large degree embarrassed by the local branch." In the absence of the secretary, I immediately replied that the Field Secretary would be in St. Louis soon. I added these words:

"I may say frankly that I have been disappointed at your attitude and the attitude of Mrs. Bundy. . . .

"FIRST, without the consent of our attorneys, you gave a newspaper interview which practically convicted you of bribery. SECONDLY, Mrs. Bundy has continually made appeals in which she has asserted that nothing was being done for you and no funds being provided. This, of course, was absolutely false. THIRDLY, in the matter of raising money, this Association has taken the only honest and defensible stand: All monies pass through its properly constituted officers. They are accounted for and the books audited. If, now, you are going to collect funds it must be thoroughly understood by the public that we have absolutely no responsibility therefor, and do not and will not guarantee their proper expenditure. Furthermore, if you are going to undertake your own defense, it is unnecessary that we should take further action in your behalf. In that case it would be necessary for us to state to the public and state plainly the reasons of the withdrawal of this Association from your case.

"Our representatives in St. Louis are Mr. Charles Nagel, one of our National Directors, and the officers of the local branch of our Association headed by Mr. Pitman. With these, and these only, arrangements must be made and they must be satisfied before this Association will be willing to continue its aid in your defense."

Mr. Bundy answered by a series of telegrams demanding "immediate investigation of conditions here," saying that he had "never been at variance with your powerful organization." On June 20 he wrote us: *"I have never felt that the National Association was not in deep sympathy with me in my extremity. I am deeply grateful for all that has been done and consider that my trouble is entirely of a local nature and I feel if given an opportunity before impartial judges to present my case, I am sure that the said differences can be amicably adjusted."*

The Board finally wrote Mr. Bundy, June 28, 1918: "The Legal Committee of the Board of Directors will be prepared to hear what you desire to say in regard to your relations with the St. Louis branch and the Association on Friday, July 5, at 2.30 P.M., in the office of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Charles H. Studin, 55 Liberty Street, New York City."

The interview was a painful fiasco. Mr. Bundy, instead of making a frank, clear statement of conditions and his complaints, reasons and wishes, began by demanding counsel to represent him; he denied that he had come to present his case, but insisted that he was there to hear "charges". He refused any information concerning the money he had collected for his defense, or even concerning the items in the $2,000 worth of bills presented to the St. Louis branch. This colloquy followed:

Dr. Bundy: The thing that I came to New York for is to find out what the Association intended to do for me.

Mr. Studin: That is precisely what we are trying to get at. We cannot exert ourselves in your defense if you are not going to be frank with us.

Dr. Bundy: The thing I am going to do—and only this—is when they tell me what they have against me that caused them to

break with me, I am going to answer them, and until that time I have said all I intend to say.

Mr. Studin: I should say this—that if you have not told them what money has been spent for lawyers on your account, they would have a justifiable grievance against you.

Dr. Bundy: They have it.

Mr. Studin: If you have told them, why not tell us for our benefit?

Dr. Bundy: Not until my attorneys are present.

Mr. Studin: Have you been raising money in your own defense?

Dr. Bundy: How does that concern the Association?

Mr. Studin: Did you understand that any money which was raised by you for the purpose of defense should be accounted for by you to the N. A. A. C. P.?

Dr. Bundy: I did not. I don't intend to answer any more questions until my attorneys are here. Unless I can have an understanding this trip up here has been thrown away.

Mr. Studin: How have you lived since March to the present time?

Dr. Bundy: Very nicely.

Mr. Studin: What is your source of income?

Dr. Bundy: In any way I could get it.

Mr. Studin: Have you worked?

Dr. Bundy: I don't think that concerns you.

Mr. Studin: Have you incurred any bills that you think the National Association is responsible for?

Dr. Bundy: Yes.

Mr. Studin: What bills?

Dr. Bundy: All bills.

Mr. Studin: Will you name them?

Dr. Bundy: No.

Mr. Studin: How much do they amount to?

Dr. Bundy: I don't recall.

Mr. Studin: In round numbers.

Dr. Bundy: I don't know.

Mr. Studin: What were they for?

Dr. Bundy: I am through with this conversation.

Mr. Studin: Was it your idea that you should go out and raise money to pay your personal living expenses?

Dr. Bundy: Yes.

Mr. Studin: That is your present idea?

Dr. Bundy: Yes, that is my idea now.

There was, of course, but one conclusion for the N. A. A. C. P. after this interview and the September CRISIS, 1918, contained this announcement.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is no longer connected in any way with the further defense of Dr. Leroy N. Bundy, of East St. Louis, with whose defense against the charge of complicity in the East St. Louis riots of July, 1917, the Association has heretofore been associated."

At the same time the N. A. A. C. P. has up to the present sedulously avoided any statement or public controversy such as might prejudice Bundy's case in court. Since Mr. Bundy now feels safe and is gratuitously attacking us, we publish the facts.

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NEGRO INSURANCE

PHIL H. BROWN

(Commissioner of Conciliation, U. S. Department of Labor.)

MEETING a growing reluctance on the part of certain old established insurance companies and the refusal of others in the matter of accepting colored people as risks, twenty-five companies with a total capital of $1,256,000, have been started by colored people for colored people in this country during the last ten years. These figures are taken from a survey just completed by the U. S. Department of Labor. The insurance sold by these companies covers principally, life, health, accidents, and four home offices are in North Carolina, four in Georgia, two in Kentucky, two in Pennsylvania, two in Louisiana, two in Florida, two in Virginia and one each in the District of Columbia, Arkansas, Ohio, Illinois, Tennessee, Maryland and South Carolina. The total value of the assets of these companies is given at $6,339,198.59. During the last fiscal year these organizations paid claims of policy-holders and other beneficiaries a total of $3,072,189. They employed 6,545 colored persons, divided thus: 527 clerical employees, 3,968 field agents, 1,523 medical examiners and 527 miscellaneous employees, to whom was paid an average monthly amount of $259,728.10, either in salaries or commissions.

While the majority of these organizations deal primarily in industrial insurance, three of the older ones have branched out into the old-line classification, taking risks on

straight life with the usual rule and limitations practiced by the white companies. Surplusage has gone largely into real estate, flat purchases and first mortgages, while three of the organizations have fostered banking institutions, which they have caused to be established in several centers of Negro population, where the State banking laws admit of small capitalization.

The success of these companies and their apparent ability to operate upon an economical basis suggests the development of this business upon purely racial lines until eventually the Negro will write all of his own insurance, opening a new and fertile field for employment of his own people and an earning opportunity for his savings.

As the foregoing figures indicate, the surface is merely scratched, for when it is considered that one white company alone carries upward of 2,000,000 policy-holders among the colored people in the industrial, endowment and straight-life classifications, it will readily be seen that the sequestering of this insurance to racial companies is yet an infant enterprise. However, if the indifference of the white companies increases it is presumed that the colored companies will profit upon the compensatory basis of the old adage that "It is an ill wind that blows nobody good."

The Government survey was made among regular companies, whose capital is supplied by colored people and which are operated under the surveillance of the insurance departments of the various states whence they take their charters. This survey does not refer to fraternal insurance, which is maintained in nineteen secret orders of national scope with a membership of 2,817,135 among the colored people in this country. It has been suggested that it is not a remote possibility that all of these orders might merge into a central body for the purpose of underwriting the insurance of the total membership. Tentative specifications for this projected "Fraternity of Fraternities" follow closely the organization plans of the American Federation of Labor, which centralizes many labor bodies, but allows each to retain its autonomy.

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SONG FOR A LOST COMRADE

(To O. B. J.)

JESSIE FAUSET

OH the fields glint gold and the trees flare red,
And the sky is as blue as a sky may be;
And the Past is past and the Dead are dead,
And Life laughs in front of us fair and free!
So it's, Ho Friends, a toast!
Let us drink high together,
Pledging, Life, Love and Laughter, in the gay, gold weather!

True, alas, there is One that is gone from our throng,
A Comrade to all and a good Friend was she;
And clear came her laughter and sweet rang her song—
But now she lies hushed by the bent birch tree.
She'd be first, Friends to cry:
"Let us drink high together,
"Pledging, Life, Love and Laughter, in the gay, gold weather!"

Ah she raised Life's cup and drank of it, too,
And Pain, like Joy, found a smile in her eye;
At all times most tender; to all trusts most true,
She had learned how to live, so she knew how to die.
Nay, no tears, Friends. A Toast:
Let us drink deep together,
Pledging, Life-long Remembrance, in the gay, gold weather!

FOR A ROSE

YETTA KAY STODDARD

ROSE of the dusk, my musk rose,
Perfumed bloom of fire and dream and dew,
Singing, I'm bringing the quietude of night to you.

God's hand and my hand
Enfold you and hold you close. Repose
In His care and my prayer. Fair, you understand?

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT

EVERY member of the N. A. A. C. P., every reader of THE CRISIS, every person who is interested in the race problem, should have a copy of the Twelfth Annual Report of the N. A. A. C. P.—A Summary and an Accounting, which can be obtained from the National Office of the Association at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, for twenty-five cents.

The report gives a detailed account of every important accomplishment during 1921. It tells of the work on national legislation, particularly on the Dyer Bill; of the many cases of legal defense including the Arkansas Cases, the Tulsa Riot Cases, the numerous extradition cases and other notable legal work; of lynching and race riots and what was done on them by the N. A. A. C. P.; of peonage; of discrimination in labor and hospitals; of the fight against the infamous Ku Klux Klan and the pernicious film, "The Birth of a Nation"; of investigations of riots and lynchings; of the Annual Conference at Detroit; of the Pan-African Congress; of publicity; of THE CRISIS; of work for Haiti and the Twenty-fourth Infantry martyrs; of the interesting work of the branches; and the usual complete financial accounting for the year.

The N. A. A. C. P. has placed the low price of twenty-five cents, which is less than the cost of printing and mailing, in order that as many copies as possible may be distributed. No person who wishes to be informed on the race problem should be without a copy of this report.

DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

THE Colorado, West Virginia, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Massachusetts, California and New York State Republican Conventions and the Massachusetts State Democratic Convention have passed recently strong resolutions endorsing the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill by name, and the Delaware State Republican Convention included in its platform a somewhat wishy-washy condemnation of mob violence, due to the vote against the Dyer Bill in the House by Caleb R. Layton, who was endorsed by re-election.

All of these resolutions were secured through the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P., which wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its appreciation to the individuals responsible for them and to those others who aided. The persons who acted at the request of the Association in the various states are:

Colorado,	George W. Gross, Denver
West Virginia,	T. Gillis Nutter, Charleston
Ohio,	Harry E. Davis, Cleveland
Missouri,	B. F. Bowles, St. Louis
Massachusetts,	Butler R. Wilson, Boston
California,	E. Burton Ceruti, Los Angeles
New York,	Chas. W. Anderson, New York

Naturally, credit is due also to those men and women who aided the above named in securing the introduction and adoption of these resolutions and to them the N. A. A. C. P. likewise extends its appreciation.

The Indiana resolution, adopted through the initiative of Mr. Gilchrist Stewart, of New York, on May 25, read in part:

We urge and favor the immediate passage by the United States Senate of the Dyer Bill, already passed by the House of Representatives, making lynching and burning a Federal crime.

The Colorado resolution, passed on August 9, read:

We urge the Senate of the United States to pass without delay the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

On August 15 the West Virginia State Republican Convention passed a resolution reading:

We urge the Congress of the United States to pass, without delay, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

The statement of the Ohio Republican Convention which was adopted without a dissenting vote on August 22, said:

We favor the immediate passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

The Missouri resolution passed on September 14 read:

The pledge of the Republican National Convention to anti-lynch legislation has found expression in the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill now pending in the United States Senate. We, therefore, endorse this measure

and urge its passage by the present Congress.

The resolution of the Massachusetts State Republican Convention not only endorsed the Dyer Bill and urged its passage immediately, but also attached disfranchisement and discrimination by the Civil Service.

The Massachusetts Democratic Convention's resolution demanded:

Both legislation and executive action should put a stop at once and for all to the disgrace of mob-law. The constitutional guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is a heritage that should be safeguarded, if necessary with Federal legislation.

The California State Republican Convention adopted as a part of its platform a demand for immediate passage of the Dyer Bill.

The New York Republican Convention in a lengthy program made but one demand on Congress and that one read:

We urge the Senate to pass at the earliest possible date the Anti-Lynching Bill adopted by the House of Representatives at the last session.

The above splendid results are one part of the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. to so solidify sentiment throughout the country behind the Dyer Bill that there can be no way for the Senate to evade passing it. In other states, where conventions are to be held during the next few weeks, similar efforts are being put forth to get the state political organizations behind the bill.

* * *

IN spite of earnest efforts by certain Republican leaders to secure consideration of and a vote upon the Dyer Bill before the adjournment of Congress on September 22, and because of determined and well organized opposition by the Democratic minority, the measure was not acted upon and now goes over until Congress reconvenes in December. A number of newspapers have spread the statement that this failure to secure final action at that time means that the bill is dead for all time. *That is not true! The bill will not be dead unless the Senate refuses to vote upon it before March* 3, 1923, *when the present session of Congress ends!*

The N. A. A. C. P. is disappointed that the efforts to get the bill enacted into law before the November elections were unsuccessful. That the colored people of the country and all other persons so vitally interested in the passage of the bill may know just what took place at Washington, the N. A. A. C. P. is publishing below the full report of James Weldon Johnson who acted for the Association at Washington throughout the long and arduous fight. The report reads:

"On August 28 I went to Washington in order to do whatever was possible to speed the action on the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. I was assured by Senator McCormick and also by Senators Curtis, Watson of Indiana, and Lodge, that the Senate Steering Committee would meet within a day or two and that the Anti-Lynching Bill would be placed on the program of measures to be taken up for consideration before Congress adjourned.

"On August 30 the Steering Committee met and placed the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill on the program.

"On September 14 I went again to Washington to urge the consideration of the Bill and remained there until after Congress adjourned. Republican leaders in the Senate repeatedly expressed their intention and determination to bring the Bill up for consideration before the adjournment of Congress. None of them felt that the Bill could be finally disposed of within that time. They all expected that the Democrats would not only demand the fullest time possible for discussion of the measure but that they would use filibustering tactics to impede its progress.

"It was finally decided that the effort to bring up the Bill for consideration would be made on Thursday, September 21. Accordingly it was arranged that Senator Shortridge would at the proper moment be recognized for that purpose. When two o'clock arrived, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, Senator Cummins, in accordance with the rule, announced that the unfinished business became the order. At that moment, Senator Underwood, Democratic leader, was discussing the Commission on Mixed Claims of American Citizens Against Germany. Senator Curtis arose and asked for unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside. Naturally, there was no objection, as the request made by Senator Curtis enabled the Democratic leader to continue his speech. Senator Curtis' request also had strategic value because it cleared the way for the taking up of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

"As soon as Senator Underwood concluded, Senator Shortridge arose and secured the recognition of the Chair. Immediately the Democrats were alive to the situation. I do not think they anticipated the move, but as soon as Senator Shortridge arose they at once knew that it meant an effort to take up the Anti-Lynching Bill.

"Before Senator Shortridge proceeded he yielded, following the rule of courtesy in the Senate, to Senator McNary, to allow him to ask the Chair to lay before the Senate House amendments to a certain joint resolution; and again he yielded to Senator Warren to allow him to report from the Committee on Appropriations a joint resolution. Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi immediately raised the point of order that the resolution reported by Senator Warren was debatable. This point of order gave rise to a long and complicated parliamentary wrangle which finally ended in President *pro-tempore* Cummins ruling that Senator Harrison and *not* Senator Shortridge was entitled to the floor. Senator Harrison took the floor and proceeded to hold it for nearly two hours; and the Democratic filibuster was on.

"In the midst of the parliamentary wrangle, in which Senator Shortridge lost the floor, Senator Harrison suggested the absence of a quorum. The President *pro tempore* instructed the Secretary to call the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Fletcher	McLean	Shortridge
Borah	France	McNary	Simmons
Brandegee	Gooding	Moses	Smoot
Broussard	Harreld	Nelson	Stanfield
Bursum	Harrison	Nicholson	Sterling
Calder	Heflin	Norbeck	Sutherland
Cameron	Hitchcock	Oddie	Swanson
Capper	Jones, Wash.	Owen	Townsend
Culberson	Keyes	Pepper	Trammell
Cummins	La Follette	Phipps	Underwood
Curtis	Lenroot	Rawson	Walsh, Mass.
Dial	Lodge	Reed, Pa.	Warren
Dillingham	McCormick	Robinson	Watson, Ind.
du Pont	McCumber	Sheppard	
Ernst	McKellar	Shields	

"The Senators who answered the roll call at the convening of the Senate at 12 o'clock but did not answer the roll call during the parliamentary fight to sustain Senator Shortridge's right to the floor were the following:

Colt	Glass	King	Ransdell
Frelinghuysen	Hale	New	Williams
Gerry	Kellogg	Newberry	

"It was then near the usual hour of adjournment, and before taking his seat Senator Harrison again suggested the absence of a quorum. But Senator Shortridge was promptly on his feet and again secured the recognition of the Chair. Senator Shortridge addressed the Chair and said—'I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House Bill 13, being Calendar No. 822—.' Before he could proceed to give the title of the bill Senator Harrison again pressed his suggestion that a quorum was not present. The roll was called and showed a quorum. Senator Heflin of Alabama then made a motion that the Senate adjourn. This motion was rejected. Finally Senator Shortridge was allowed to proceed.

"Senator Shortridge, in presenting the Bill to the Senate, made a very strong and at the same time an exceedingly skilful speech. He was interrupted a number of times by questions and objections, particularly from Senator Shields (Democrat) of Tennessee who, as a member of the Judiciary Committee, had greatly opposed the reporting out of the Bill. The manner in which Senator Shortridge met this opposition was so convincing and yet so tactful that it could be felt that the Democratic Senators present realized it would be exceedingly embarrassing for them to vote against taking the Bill up for consideration, at least.

"The conclusion of Senator Shortridge's remarks is as follows, with interruptions by Senator Shields:

" 'I also realize that we have been in session for some time, a great many days, weeks, and months; but, so far as I am concerned, I am willing to stay right here until this bill, if taken up, is disposed of, however anxious I am to breathe again the airs of California, from which State I have been absent until I fear that even my dogs there have forgotten me, though the faithful dog is the last thing on this earth to forget his friend.

" 'I am anxious, indeed, to get home; but it seems to me that if we should agree to take up this bill, and Senators would enter into a gentleman's agreement to discuss it for two or three days, each side, if there be sides, could advance their arguments, not to curtail argument, but could give their views, and that we could come to a vote on the measure certainly within a week. I respect the wishes of the House of Representatives, and what is perhaps the wish of others.'

Mr. Shields: " 'The Senator knows the bill was discussed five weeks in the House, does he not?'

Mr. Shortridge: " 'I think it was discussed for a long time; quite unnecessarily, however.'

Mr. Shields: "'With the Senator's intelligence and comprehension of the condition of affairs in the Senate, when he moved to take this bill up he did not expect it to be taken up and disposed of at this session, did he?'

Mr. Shortridge: "'Things change rapidly. I answer the Senator, if it is necessary, that I was very fearful that it would not be disposed of if taken up; that is true. I had hoped to have it taken up fully ten days ago, but there were other bills and conference reports, the bonus bill, and the tariff bill, which delayed my asking that the bill be taken up. But this is the first time I have felt I had the right to the floor since I came here from California, and I do not want to abuse that right. I am willing to be guided by the wisdom of others. I have made the motion that this bill be taken up, and that we proceed immediately with its consideration, and I have said all I can say, perhaps, in favor of taking it up.'

"After Senator Shortridge concluded his remarks, the question of voting upon the consideration of the Bill was discussed. While the vote was pending the question of no quorum was raised again. The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brandegee	France	Pepper	Sutherland
Bursum	Jones, Wash.	Rawson	Swanson
Calder	McCormick	Reed, Pa.	Townsend
Cameron	McKellar	Robinson	Underwood
Capper	McNary	Sheppard	Warren
Cummins	Moses	Shortridge	Watson, Ind.
Curtis	Owen	Simmons	

"There being no quorum present, the vote was not taken and the Bill automatically went over for consideration to the next session of Congress.

"From the roll call just above, it may be seen that those Republican Senators who stayed through to the end of the fight for immediate consideration of the Bill were:

Bursum, N. Mex.	Moses, N. H.
Calder, N. Y.	Pepper, Pa.
Cameron, Ariz.	Rawson, Ia.
Capper, Kans.	Reed, Pa.
Curtis, Kans.	Shortridge, Cal.
France, Md.	Sutherland, W. Va.
Jones, Wash.	Townsend, Mich.
McCormick, Ill.	Warren, Wyo.
McNary, Ore.	Watson, Ind.

"The Republican leaders in the Senate state that the only unfinished business on the program of the Steering Committee are the Liberian Loan Bill and the Anti-Lynching Bill. *They have given definite promises that these two measures will be taken up and finally disposed of at the opening of the next session and before any other legislation is considered.*

"This is the first fundamental issue of national import to the colored people of the United States that has been put squarely before the Republican Party since the Civil Rights Bill. We have the pledge to enact this legislation in the Republican platform. We have it recommended by the President and we have the promise of its enactment by the leaders of the majority in Congress. *We must hold the Party and hold the President and hold the Republican majority in the Senate strictly to these promises, and if the enactment of Anti-Lynching legislation is not fulfilled before the passing of this Congress, we should consider all of these promises as broken.*"

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DAD

COUNTEE P. CULLEN

HIS ways are circumspect and bound
With trite simplicities;
His is the grace of comforts found
In homely hearthside ease.
His words are sage and fall with care,
Because he loves me so;
And being his, he knows, I fear,
The dizzy path I go.
For he was once as young as I,
As prone to take the trail,
To find delight in the sea's low cry,
And a lone wind's lonely wail.
It is his eyes that tell me most
How full his life has been;
There lingers there the faintest ghost
Of some still sacred sin.
So I must quaff Life's crazy wine,
And taste the gall and dregs;
And I must spend this wealth of mine,
Of vagrant wistful legs;
And I must follow, follow, follow
The lure of a silver horn,
That echoes from a leafy hollow,
Where the dreams of youth are born.
Then when the star has shed its gleam,
The rose its crimson coat;
When Beauty flees the hidden dream,
And Pan's pipes blow no note;
When both my shoes are worn too thin,
My weight of fire to bear,
I'll turn like dad, and like him win
The peace of a snug arm-chair.

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

¶ Crogman Hall of Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., has been dedicated. It is named in honor of Dr. W. H. Crogman, a Negro who served as professor of Latin and Greek and as president during 45 years. It cost $200,000.

¶ The Union University Club, composed of 40 Negro students in New York City, has awarded a 4-year scholarship to William Ledbetter. This entitles Mr. Ledbetter to a full course at Virginia Union University. The president of the club is Mr. Travis E. Freeman, a student at Columbia.

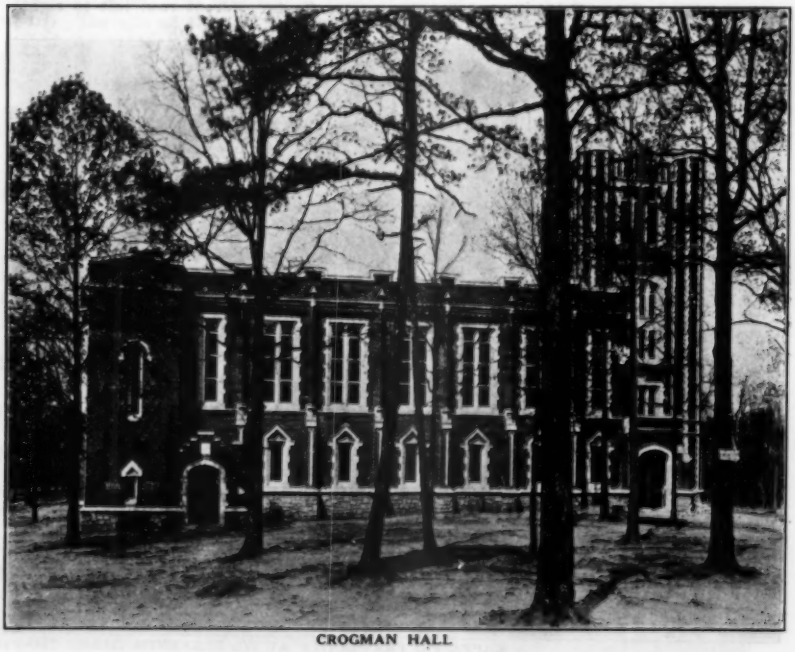
¶ The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Winder, Ga., September 2, Jim Reed Long; robbery and striking white woman.

Newton, Tex., September 7, O. J. Johnson; murder.

Sandersville, Ga., September 28, Jim Johnston; attacking white woman.

¶ The Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention held its 25th annual session in Charlotte, N. C. There were 300 delegates present. This organization supports 29 missionaries in Africa and 12 in Haiti. Last year it paid out $60,000 in salaries to missionaries. The white American Baptist Home Mission Society of the North recently decided to contribute $35,000 toward the erection, under Lott Carey auspices, of a school in Haiti. Revs. Dr. C. S. Brown, A. W. Pegues, A. A. Graham and J. H. Hughes were elected officers of the convention; Mrs A. B. Randolph, Mrs. D. J. Avery, Mrs. Veola L. Coleman, Mrs. A. E. Blackwell and Mrs. Ora B. Stokes were elected officers of the woman's auxiliary.



CROGMAN HALL

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR CLUB

¶ In Cleveland, Ohio, there has been organized the Good Neighbor Club. The persons in the picture are: (back row, left to right), Mattie P. Anderson, director Christian Community Center; Helen Howard, Associated Charities; Captain Frye of the Y. M. C. A.; Miss Howell, Probate Court; Jane Hunter, executive secretary Phyllis Wheatley Association; Evelyn Simmons, Christian Community Center; (front row, left to right),

KAPPA PSI FRATERNITY AT ITS ELEVENTH GRAND CHAPTER

THE CAST OF "THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE"

James H. Kerns, Christian Community Center; Juanita Pollard, Outdoor Relief; Della M. Stewart and Miss Thompson, Associated Charities; Mrs. Julia Lythe, Christian Community Center. The president is Miss Stewart. The aim of the club is to make the members more intelligent in their respective fields by relating experiences, discussing methods and through lectures.

¶ The Red Domino Dramatic Club of St. Louis, Mo., recently dramatized "The Chevalier De St. George". In the cast are (left

PROM IN THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CLEVELAND, OHIO

to right, sitting), Corrine Allen, a lady; Herman Dreer, director; Edna Levy, a lady; (standing), Elmer Fowler, as Plato; Chauncey Elain, as Morliere; Marie Spotts, a maid; Irma Wilson, wife of Julien; Marcus Perkins, a Baron; Turner Dickerson, the Chevalier; Lucile Randall, a Countess; Clifford Boyd, as Julien; Willard Thornton as DeBoulogne.

¶ The Negro ministry comes in for endless criticism. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to note the career of a black minister which calls for universal praise and appreciation. In Portsmouth, Va., last spring was celebrated the 40th anniversary of the pastorate of John Maurice Armistead. The whole community did honor to this pastor of Zion Baptist Church, the oldest pastor in Tidewater in point of service. Dr. Armistead was born in 1852, in Lynchburg, and became a shoemaker. At the age of 17 he began to prepare for the ministry and studied at what is now Virginia Union University and at Roger Williams College. He was ordained in 1879 and began his work at Knoxville, Tenn. Eventually he came to Portsmouth, to succeed the Rev. E. G. Corprew, who had begun the first Negro Baptist church. Here for a generation he has done his work as pastor, as teacher and as public servant.

¶ Most people have heard that in Mississippi there is a Negro town, Mound Bayou. Its founder and Mayor is Isaiah T. Montgomery, and recently he and his wife celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. All the town and countryside, with many of the white people, joined in the services and were received in their new home. Mr. Montgomery was a member of the Mississippi Constitutional Convention which disfranchised the Negro, and State Receiver of Public Monies under Roosevelt.

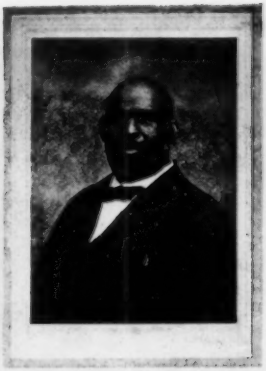
¶ One of the best known manufacturers of gas engines in Brooklyn, N. Y., has long been Matthew A. Welmon, who died recently, leaving an estate valued at over $120,000. Mr. Welmon was born in North Carolina in 1876. He came to Newark, N. J., when a boy, went home on a visit and walked back. He began to work for a gas engine concern at $4.00 a week and eventually opened business under the name of Welmon & Carr, in Brooklyn. He was a modest, genial man, a member of various societies, and a deacon in Concord Baptist Church. His funeral was one of the most memorable gatherings of genuine friends, colored and white, that has taken place in Brooklyn. Mr. Welmon leaves a widow and two daughters.

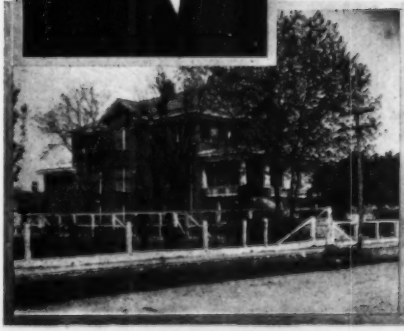
¶ The visitor to Indianapolis will find two unusually well-equipped chiropody parlors, in the center of the city, owned by a colored man, Dr. E. N. Perkins. He employs 10 assistants, has beautiful and completely furnished offices, and has recently built a beautiful home. Mr. Perkins was born in Indianapolis, in 1873, and became a shoe-black, a newsboy, a jockey, and afterward a barber. Then, in Indianapolis, he started a small chiropody enterprise, struggled with it for 5 years, until success came. Mr. Perkins is married and has one daughter.

¶ For a long time it looked as though President Harding was going to be completely captured by the "Lily Whites" of the South and was not planning to appoint any colored men to important positions, no matter what their qualifications. He has not appointed many, but his nomination of Arthur G. Froe, as Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, is a beginning. Mr. Froe for 20 years has been prominent in Republican politics in West Virginia, and is a member of the Bar.

¶ It would be unfortunate if in the current of criticism of some of our West Indian fellow-citizens we were not mindful of the great contributions that the West Indies are continually making to colored America. Recently Alva L. Bates, a naturalized Barbadian, was appointed Assistant U. S. Attorney at Chicago, Ill. Mr. Bates was born in 1888 and came to America in 1906. He was graduated from the Howard University Law School in 1914 and the following year began practice in Chicago.

¶ The Great Southern Fire Insurance Company, of Atlanta, Ga., has merged with the Bankers' Fire Insurance Company of Durham, N. C. The latter company reinsures the entire outstanding business of the Great Southern, which amounts to three million dollars, and takes over assets amounting to $150,000. The merger represents a transaction of seven and one-half million dollars worth of business and assets of $325,000. It was brought about largely through the efforts of Mr. L. E. Williams, of the Wage Earners' Savings Bank in Savannah; Mr. W. Gomez, of the Bankers'; and Mr. John E. Nail, of the real estate firm of Nail & Parker, New York. The Bankers' operates in North Carolina, Maryland, the District of





MR. AND MRS. I. T. MONTGOMERY THE LATE MR. WELMON DR. J. M. ARMISTEAD
DR. E. N. PERKINS ATTORNEY A. L. BATES THE HOME OF DR. PERKINS
THE HOME OF MR. AND MRS. MONTGOMERY ARTHUR G. FROE

DEHART HUBBARD

Columbia, Georgia, and Tennessee, and has as its officers: Messrs. W. G. Pearson, president; C. C. Spaulding, A. M. Moore, A. J. Strong, vice-presidents; J. M. Avery, treasurer; W. Gomez, secretary-manager; M. A. Goins, assistant secretary. These officers, including Messrs. E. R. Merrick and R. L. McDougald, comprise the Executive Committee.

¶ At the A. A. U. junior national track and field championship tournament held in Newark, N. J., DeHart Hubbard, of the Cincinnati A. C., broke the running broad jump record by a leap of 24 feet, three and one-half inches. The record set in 1914 was 23 feet, 1 inch. Mr. Hubbard is a student of the University of Michigan. Of 8 Negroes entered in the meet, 7 received medals: Hubbard, 3 firsts; Johnson and Rogers, first; Gourdin and Figuers, second; Brookins and Butler, third.

¶ To correct an error in our September issue, we beg to say that Mr. F. A. Harris was formerly secretary of the Paseo Department of the Y. M. C. A. in Kansas City, Mo. He resigned, and Mr. G. A. Gregg has held this position since September, 1921.

¶ At its last commencement, Morgan College in Baltimore, Md., graduated 17 Bachelors of Art.

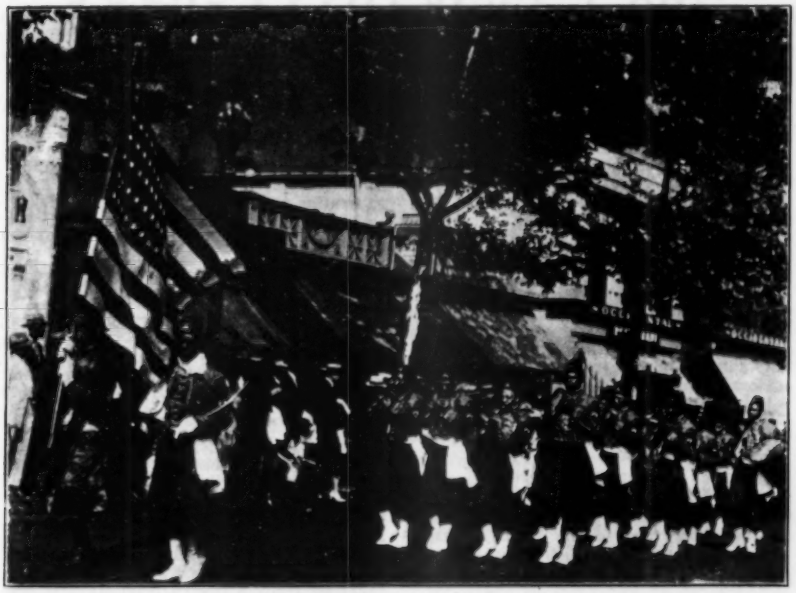
¶ Alice M. Pettyjohn, a soprano singer of Amherst, Mass., won the Silver Gray Medal in a contest for trained singers. She was the only Negro among 5 contestants. The selection that won the prize was H. T. Burleigh's "Deep River."

¶ In a first grade Civil Service examination, held in 34 of the largest cities of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri and Illinois, Miss Maggie B. Coffey, of Muskogee, Okla., made a rating which placed her second on the eligible list for the 9th district.

¶ A dedicatory organ recital has been held at Berean Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. The set of chimes in the organ was presented to the congregation by the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Matthew Anderson, as a memorial to his late wife, Dr. Caroline V. Anderson.

¶ The Supreme Life & Casualty Company,

SIKI



KNIGHTS TEMPLAR IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

of Columbus, Ohio, was organized a little over a year ago. It has qualified and begun active operations in Ohio, West Virginia, Arkansas, and recently entered the District of Columbia. It is the first Negro enterprise to produce a standard casualty insurance policy. Truman K. Gibson is president.

¶ In Paris, Battling Siki, a Senegalese fighter, has won the heavyweight championship of Europe by defeating Georges Carpentier in the 6th round of a scheduled 20-round bout.

¶ Colored Knights Templar at their convention in Washington, D. C., laid the cornerstone for a $300,000 Masonic Temple. It will be located on the southwest corner of Tenth and You Streets, Northwest. More than 15,000 colored Knights and Shriners from all parts of the United States attended the conventions.

¶ "Shady Rest", the Negro country club at Westfield, N. J., is one year old and has 200 members. It has a nine hole golf course.

AT "SHADY REST"

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

HERE has the new year come! Precede us, you gods, and eat the first fruits, so that, for us also, Kaffir corn shall help our body, that we may become fat, not thin, that the witches may increase the corn, make it to be plentiful, so that, even if there is only a small field, the baskets may be filled . . .

Today my child is leaving me. She enters the wedded life. Look at her, accompany her where she will live. May she also found a village! May she have many children! May she be happy, good, just! May she be on good terms with those with whom she will be . . .

—Prayers of the Bantu People in Africa.

* * *

We have received *Le Christianisme Social* containing an article by William S. Nelson on the black race in the United States; *The Psychic Life of Insects* by the French scientist E. L. Bouvier, who alludes repeatedly in the text to the investigations of Dr. C. H. Turner, colored, a member of the American Academy of Science; and Dayrell's *Folk Stories From Southern Nigeria, West Africa.* This last is not a new book but as it gives an insight into the customs and mental processes of an important African group we shall speak of it at length in our semi-annual book review.

* * *

Walter F. White writes in the current *World Tomorrow* on "Mob Justice" in a symposium of articles grouped under the title "Where Freedom is Denied."

Benjamin Brawley writes in *The Bookman* of "The Negro in American Literature." Under this innocuous title he contrives to get across some trenchant remarks. "Cynicism since the war," he says, "has been developed almost to a cult." Later he speaks of the "strange prominence of the Negro" in American life and development:

In the colonial era it was the economic advantage of slavery over servitude that caused it to displace this institution as a system of labor. Two of the three compromises that entered into the making of the Constitution were prompted by the presence of the Negro in the country; the expansion of the southwest depended on his labor; and the question or the excuse of fugitives was the real key to the Seminole Wars. The Civil War was simply to determine the status of the Negro in the Republic, and the legislation after the war determined for a generation the history not only of the South but very largely of the nation as well. The later disfranchising acts have had overwhelming importance, the unfair system of national representation controlling the election of 1916 and thus the attitude of America in the World War.

* * *

Louis Morpeau, member of the Society of French Men of Letters and of the Society of French Poets, writes us:

The flattering reception which the great Paris newspapers and reviews continue to offer to the "Haitian Anthology of Contemporary Poets (1904-1920)" has induced the very important publishing house, J. Povolozky & Company, in Paris, to ask me to write a book for its Universal Collection of Anthologies, which would afford an account of Haitian poetry from its first origins. I have, therefore, started to work on the "Anthology of a Century of Haitian Poetry (1820-1920)"—a thick book, beautifully gotten up; it will be ready for the public by the end of the year. I think that this work of criticism and of history which I have labored upon with love and sympathy, circulated as far as possible not only in the French speaking countries but also in the three Americas, will render a very great service to our country, which is, I must confess, too much ignored, forgotten or misunderstood.

I should be very grateful to you, my dear colleague, if you would publish this letter in order to bring the facts before the knowledge of our friends and of the public whose assistance I greatly need, the cost of printing being enormous just now. The subscription for a volume printed in Haiti will cost only one dollar.

"SEE WHAT GARVEY HAS DONE"

IN a circular recently thrown about Harlem, Messrs. Pickens, Bagnall and Owens and others were severely criticized for attacking a great man and after asserting that none of these men had done anything, the circular ended with "See What Garvey Has Done!"

Well, let us see.

In a supplementary proceedings examination of Marcus Garvey held in the Supreme

Court of Bronx County, New York City, August 19, Mr. Garvey made the following statements under oath:

(Italics are ours.)

Q. Can you tell me at this time whether or not the Black Star Line owns and operates any boats? A. It has interest in *one boat that is floundered at Antilla, Cuba.*

Q. By floundered, do you mean it is wrecked? A. Yes. *It is no use.* It cannot be reached from where it is.

Q. Who controls that boat? A. The Black Star Line, but other people have interest in it. *Our interest is mortgaged.* The National Drydock has interest in the boat and the Massachusetts Bonding Company.

Q. What is the extent of the interest of the National Drydock Company? A. I believe $4,000 or $5,000.

Q. And the extent of the Massachusetts Bonding Company? A. I believe it is $15,000 or $20,000, I am not sure.

Q. What is the value of the boat? A. Well, the appraised value on the last statement given to me was $5,000.

Q. What is the name of this boat? A. *S.S. Kanawha.* . . .

Q. *Does the Company own any other boats at the present time?* A. *No.*

Q. Did you own the *S.S. Yarmouth*? A. Yes.

Q. What happened to it? A. It was libeled by the National Drydock Company and held by the United States Marshall for about $1,800.

Q. And do you own and operate any other boat at the present time? A. No. We have interest in a boat called the *Shady Side, which is a wreck.*

Q. Where is this wreck? A. It is somewhere in New York Harbor; I do not know the exact location now . . .

A. You see, *we purchased the boat off Leon Swift for* $35,000, *on which we paid, I believe,* $16,000. *Our interest in it has been mortgaged* to a bonding company and individuals.

Q. What is the extent of the mortgage, Mr. Garvey? A. The extent of the mortgage is $16,000 . . .

Q. Should this matter be settled, how much money would the Black Star Line receive individually? A. The Black Star Line would not receive anything, because its interest is mortgaged to others to cover liabilities. . . .

Q. Has the Black Star Line any accounts outstanding? A. *No, it has no outstanding accounts.*

Q. *Does anybody owe any money to the Black Star Line?* A. *No* . . .

Q. What was the capital stock of the Black Star Line? A. $10,000,000.

Q. Any paid-up stock? A. *About* $900,000 . . .

Q. *Is the Black Star Line doing any business at the present time?* A. *No, no business* . . .

Q. Has the Black Star Line any bank account? A. Yes, it has; but it is attached.

Q. Who attached your bank account? A. The National Drydock Company.

Q. Did you owe them any money? A. Yes, it is alleged that we owe them $45,000.

Q. How much did they attach? A. *We only had* $500 *in the bank* . . .

Q. The Black Star Line has no funds at that bank at the present time? A. *No, they haven't.*

Q. No other money whatsoever? A. *No.*

Q. Has the Black Star Line any money in any other bank? A. No other money in any other bank . . .

Q. Do you know where the books of the corporation are at the present time? A. *They are at the Department of Justice* . . .

Q. Has anybody any access to these books? A. I do not know. The Department of Justice controls them.

Q. *Has the Black Star Line at any time paid any dividends?* A. *No, never.*

Q. *Do you know when the Insurance Company money had been assigned to the various creditors?* A. No, I do not.

Q. How long ago had it been assigned? A. *Almost two years* . . .

Q. Has the Black Star Line any property whatsoever at the present time? A. It has property in its name, but it is all mortgaged.

Q. What property is that? A. At 56 West 135th Street . . .

Q. What do you mean by the property being all mortgaged? A. Well, there are three mortgages on it, first, second and third.

Q. Who holds the first mortgage? A. Some outside corporation. The secretary can give you the name of that corporation.

Q. And who owns the second mortgage? A. The second mortgage is owned by the person we bought the property from.

Q. And who owns the third? A. The Universal Negro Improvement Association . . .

Q. For what consideration was this third mortgage given? A. The Universal Negro Improvement Association loaned the Black Star Line money.

Q. How much money did they loan? A. $10,000.

Q. Was that in cash or in the form of services? A. Cash.

Q. Did that money actually go into the treasury of the Black Star Line? A. Yes.

Q. *How long ago was this money borrowed?* A. *Within two years.*

Q. Has the Universal Negro Improvement Association received any of its money in return? A. No, it has not.

Q. Has the Black Star Line paid any interest on that loan? A. No . . .

Q. What is the present indebtedness of the Black Star Line? A. Approximately $200,000.

Q. And what are the assets of the Black Star Line? A. There are no assets.

Q. What is the equity in this building at 56 West 135th Street? A. Well, we have no equity, because it is all mortgaged. *Even if the building were to be sold we would not*

get anything because the mortgage is out of our control . . .

Q. Are there any other judgments outstanding against the Black Star Line? A. Yes.

Q. Name them. A. *There are so many I cannot name them. There are judgments from the crew, aggregating about* $40,000. That is, I am giving you what I can remember. *We have several wage cases aggregating about* $20,000. *Also the Green River Distilling Company libel for* $52,000.

* * *

Luc Dorsinville of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, writes us:

"In your article appearing in the September, 1922, issue of THE CRISIS you say that there has been a great deal of discussion as to who was responsible for the loss of the freight which I had prepared for the *S.S. Yarmouth* of the Black Star Line; freight whose value mounted up to around $30,000.

"I am in a position to assure you that all the blame in this affair falls upon the management of the Black Star Line, which was very bad, and upon the ship's crew, which was the most undisciplined that I have ever seen in my life.

"The *Tribunal de Paix* [law court] in the northern section of Port-au-Prince condemned last year the Black Star Line in an action which a passenger, Malval, had brought against the Line; the judge in Chambers of the Lower Court of Port-au-Prince rendered judgment against the Black Star Line; the Lower Court itself of Port-au-Prince likewise condemned the management of the Black Star Line and all three judgments particularly pointed out that I personally was absolved from any fault."

* * *

To this we venture to add this tidbit:

Geneva, Sept. 8 (By Associated Press).—Haiti took the front rank in today's debates of the Assembly of the League of Nations when Delegate Bellegarde of that country made the most eloquent speech of the session. He demanded an investigation of the operations of a punitive expedition sent by the South African Government sometime ago against the natives of Southwest African territory for which South Africa has the league mandate.

The Haitian impressed the Assembly as no other orator has done when he asked if it were possible that women and children could be slaughtered by airplanes, bombs and machine guns operated by mandatories under the authority of the League of Nations.

[M. Bellegarde is Haitian Minister to France, was Honorary President of the Second Pan-African Congress and presented its resolutions on the floor of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1921.]

Geneva, Sept. 13.—A delegation of Negroes from the recent Negro convention in New York, headed by Marcus Garvey, has arrived here to ask the League of Nations to give the Negroes a mandate over former German colonies in Africa where they might establish a racial home.—New York *Call*.

* * *

Note the dates above, and then read the *Negro World* (Garvey's paper), September 16:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I have to report to you the safe arrival of the delegation from the Third International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World at the League of Nations Assembly now in session at Geneva, Switzerland. Not only has the delegation arrived safely, but we have succeeded in making a wonderful impression on the Assembly through the exposé by Delegate Bellegarde, of Haiti, of the atrocities committed upon the natives of the late German colony of Southwest Africa by the British mandate.

* * *

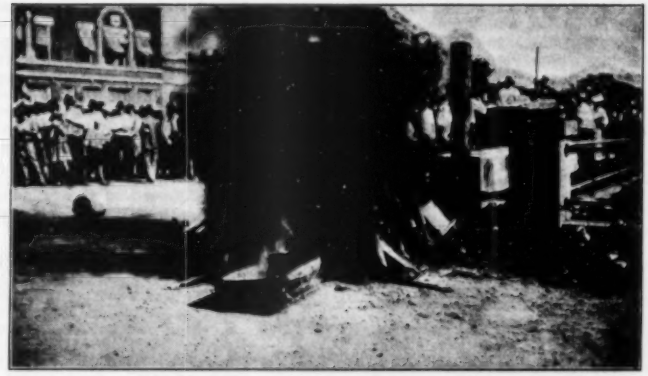
To this we can only append William Pickens' delicious word: "There are just two of us, Marcus Garvey and William Pickens. And one of us is the Liar." M. Bellegarde, delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations from Haiti, makes his speech on September 8, the Garvey delegation arrives September 13. Yet, says Mr. Garvey: *"We have made an impression on the Assembly . . . by Delegate Bellegarde."* "Backward, turn backward, oh Time in your flight!"

"WHY SO HARD?"

WE have read the following letter with the deepest sympathy:

I am not old enough to have had a "Black Mammy," but am too old, I believe, for this letter to seem an impertinence. I am from North Carolina. My constituency numbers 10,000. I am seeking for us all the best. I have just met THE CRISIS for the first time! Will file your 1922, so kindly and so promptly sent in answer to my request for copies. I have read them with great interest and I believe with understanding, with sympathy, with admiration, but there comes the question, "Why so hard? Why so intolerant?" I have no doubt but that you love little children, are kind to old ladies, admire flowers and adore babies. I am led to this opinion in part by two editorials, "Social Equality," which is a splendid, honest admission whether one agrees or not, and "The Spanish Fandango," beautiful in its wording beyond my words to express (April and May numbers). But why always sow seeds of Hate and, I dare to say, wish that therefrom may grow flowers of Love! . . .

I have lived a great deal in my near 60 years; my road has never been for long on the level. It has wound upwards most of the way, and I "know that I know" that



THE BURNING BODY

the world needs your gift less as a Battle Axe of Cleavage, more as a Power for welding. I have lived in Baltimore 15 years and by fact of official connection have served on committees with New Yorkers and Bostonians and may be said, I believe, to know my neighbors both North and South, and it is no truer than "Pigs is Pigs" than that "Folks is Folks," and Hate begets Hate and 'tis a seed with a great yield. Now, why so hard? Why so intolerant?

ALLIE M. COPELAND,
Baltimore, Md.

* * *

We turn to our other mail. There are two pictures, a clipping and three letters. Here are the pictures and the clipping from a Texas paper, the name of which was not sent:

The burning of Joe Winters in the public square at Conroe, Texas, drew a larger crowd than the annual visit of the circus. Winters was accused of attacking a 14-year-old white girl. Bloodhounds were used to capture him and he was chased through three counties. Newspapers advertised the event and thousands of persons, including young women and children, watched him chained to a peg in the public square and a match applied to his clothing saturated with gasoline.

* * *

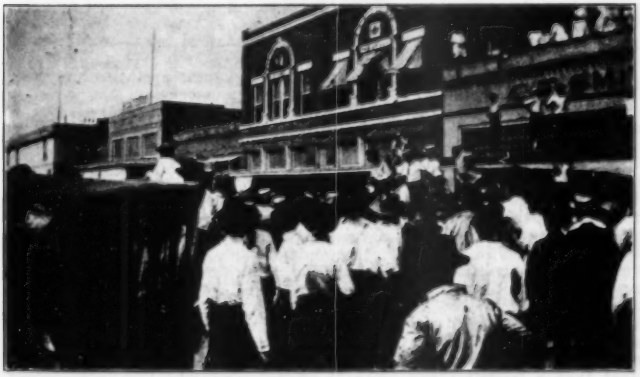
Then comes a letter from Florida:

It might be interesting to know that on the night of the 14th of July, Jake Davis, of Colquit, Ga., was lynched, charged with being the father of a child by a white woman. It appears that the woman gave birth to a Negro child and her neighbors insisted that she tell the father of the child, which she did with the usual result. The interesting fact is that the State press took no notice of it. It was not in the papers.

* * *

Then a white man writes from Denton, Texas:

Have you a few moments of leisure to give your attention to the following? Recently the white populace of this little town came to the conclusion that a park is needed. Their eyes fell upon one of the Negro sections through which a creek lined with trees flows. This section was considered undesirable, but good enough for Negroes; there they lived for years, built humble homes, now they have to



"A LARGER CROWD THAN . . . THE CIRCUS"

quit and get very little for their property. Their humble homes made them happy, but the whites say that they are of no use now. Is this not a crying injustice? The Negroes are helpless. Other sections of the town will not have the Negroes. Where shall they go? In the water. Could you protest against this without mentioning my name?

* * *

Why so hard? Why so intolerant? "I came not to bring Peace but a Sword," said the pitiful Christ.

* * *

There are rays of light in the next clipping. The Hot Springs *Sentinel Record* says April 25, 1922, reporting the words of a Southern white woman, Mrs. Luke Johnson, at the Y. W. C. A. Conference:

God knows that I face these problems with sorrow. These children of ours have been thrust out into darkness without the help of a friendly touch. A race has grown up in the South that we do not know. Two years ago when I was called to this work of making a study of the race question, I told those who made the call that there was nothing to study about the Negro, that I had been born and raised in the South, and that I knew the Negro. Later I realized that I did not know the Negro. We have our eyes closed to a great power of which we know nothing. I saw at Tuskegee, writers and physicians and painters and poets, and women of exquisite culture and refinement.

The best people of my race do not know the best people of the Negro race. We know the cook and the yard man, and we are told that truth and morals are not with the Negro race. I see in this audience sprinkled about the dark faces of women who are giving and suffering and enduring because they are making examples for their race—and they are treated like women in the streets.

* * *

And finally a letter from a Southern white woman in Washington, D. C., telling us of a Negro who through the efforts of herself and of Mr. Thomas H. Lion was saved from lynching:

I wrote to several papers in different parts of the State and am told that they published an account of it all and commended Mr. Lion for protecting a man from mob violence. If the press everywhere would do this—they could create the necessary public sentiment and in a short time such Blots of Shame on the United States would never occur. I pray that God may let me (a Southern woman) live to see the day when there will never be another lynching.

In the Manassas *Journal*, July 28, you will find a good editorial, "Law and Order Rule." They congratulate the people of the county upon the fact that a lynching was averted in connection with the Harris case. In the same paper is a statement from Mr. Lion—I tell you this in case you may wish to send for a copy of the paper and read it.

I am ready to do anything within my power to prevent lynching and I want to ask you if you will be good enough to send me anything and *everything* that the N. A. A. C. P. has published on the subject.

R. O. T. C.

WE append the following letter with its graphic account of "the way that they do in the Army":

My home is in Charles Town, Jefferson County, W. Va. It is in the 5th Corps area of the United States of America; headquarters at Columbus Barracks, Ohio. I'm formerly a member of Company K, 372nd Infantry, A. E. F. I received an application blank for admittance to the Citizens' Military Training Corps which would be held at one of the cantonments designated by the Corps Area Commander. Owing to previous military experience, I was entitled to Reserve Officer's Training and my application was accepted to that effect. I was ordered to report to Camp Knox, Stithton, Kentucky, August 1, 1922.

Upon my arrival at camp I was subjected to all manner of insults. In a trainload of about 500 men, I was the only Negro. The first open insult I received was when we detrained at camp. The trucks that were detailed to carry the men from the station to the section of the camp, where we had to undergo a medical examination, refused to let me ride. I was forced to walk the distance of about one and one-half miles. I threatened to report my ill treatment to the War Department in Washington, D. C. Just then an officer, a first lieutenant (white) came over and tried to camouflage his sentiment by blaming the incident on the "Southern Hoodlums." He tried to convince me that he was a Real American; therefore, too broadminded to stoop to such petty offences simply because a man's skin was of a darker hue than his.

All the officers talked to me in a friendly manner, as did the first, but a blind man could see that they were agitating prejudice among the men against me.

Of course by the time I walked over to the medical examiners, I was obliged to get on the tail end of the line. I stood there from early in the afternoon until about dark. By that time I was about 30 men from the entrance of the Y. M .C. A., in which building the men were having their papers inspected before undergoing the physical examination.

Just then a Major of Infantry came along and asked me if I had had anything to eat, and I told him "No"; then he told me to follow him. We went to a mess hall a few buildings away; there I was issued a stale cheese sandwich. When I returned to the line about 250 men, who had just arrived, were already added to the line and I was

forced to go back to the rear of this new line. By and by it began to rain and everybody ran over to an open air theatre or shed. The white men were all given mattresses and told to make themselves at home on the floor. I was taken out in the rain across camp in search of an empty building for me to spend the night. At last we found a building whose 2nd floor was unoccupied and I proceeded to make myself as comfortable as possible with nothing but a bunch of dirty mattresses. As soon as the officer left me, all the men in the neighborhood seemed to know that I was there.

They cursed and ordered me to put the light out if I knew what was good for me. Some became so angry at my having the nerve to come down there to enter the R. O. T. C. that they made open threats to carry me out of camp and give me a good beating. The next morning, I was refused breakfast. The physical examination was a farce. They passed me around from one doctor to another. The last doctor made the mistake of giving me a white card, which signifies that I passed O. K. Another officer came along and asked me which doctor I received the card from. After I told him, they both had a whispered conversation. The doctor came back, placed a test tube over my heart, listened a few seconds, then took the white card and gave me a pink one, which signified that I was physically unfit for service. The officer in charge of the rejected men took me over to the mess hall and tried to over-feed me, but I had no appetite.

MORE LIGHT ON THE HAITIAN SITUATION

THE Rev. S. E. Churchstone Lord, B.D., a returned missionary from Haiti, tells in the *Voice of Missions*, of the American invasion. He begins:

In the *New York Journal* of May the 8, 1922, there appeared a species of propaganda from a Washington correspondent, quoting ex-Secretary of State Lansing in his letter to Mr. Medill McCormick as to the causes of the American invasion of Haiti. I quote the correspondent: "American marines occupied Haiti after Germany had landed an armed force at Port-au-Prince to seize that republic's custom houses, according to Robert Lansing, former Secretary of State."

It is an iniquitous act on the part of any statesman to declare that the Wilson government caused American marines to be landed in the republic of Haiti to save the Haitians from the Germans.

I write from knowledge and from love of the truth and fair-play in the sight of God. The half of the evil and intrigue and duplicity and murders and debauchery of the young womanhood of every class in Haiti perpetrated upon the Haitians by the responsible and irresponsible forces of American marines, and the streams of concessionaries who paid for and found audience with President Dartiguenave, cannot be told in this too short rebuttal and plea for Haiti. Every honest American who does not believe in lynching Negroes and depriving them of their political rights will urge President Harding to take his military boys home, even as England did from Egypt.

The marines killed the natives just as kings kill tigers. Some fellow is found, his family perhaps made hostage, and he ingratiates himself through some supposed grievance against the Americans, and he leads a band of aggrieved peasantry to a designated spot, then a machine gun or an aeroplane does the rest for them. Let Conan Doyle call up the ghosts of the marine boys who committed suicide in Haiti. Let him ask them why they did commit suicide. They will all say: "Rotten business; I wanted to come home away from it all, or go to Europe and do honest fighting for a principle, but they would not let me."

Ask Admiral Knapp why did he pay two visits to Haiti? It was not to force the Haitians to live up to their contract; but those visits were to stop the petty jealousies between the Naval and Marine heads, as to which force should have the precedence in the planning and governing of Haitian affairs; which littleness on the part of agents of a great republic at one time threatened the prestige of Bailey-Blanchard and the State Department at Washington in Haiti. Bailey-Blanchard did not like to go to the military headquarters in Haiti for orders to run his office. How do I know this and more? Because Haiti before the War was a clearing house for intrigue and instruction affecting the whole world.

. . . . . .

Eventually, Germany sunk a French steamer in which two Haitian stewards were drowned. And after much urging on the part of American advisers, the President of Haiti asked Germany for damages. Germany looked in scorn at the quasi-Haitian government, and broke off diplomatic relations. Then the Presidential-appointed legislators declared that a "state of war" existed between Haiti and Germany. The Haitians had been promised that if they had declared war against Germany, the Americans would make the Liberian government a big loan and withdraw their military forces. After a "state of war" was declared, America started to confiscate German property running into many millions, impoverished many Haitian-born widows of Germans; sold property and goods for cash, and yet has not paid any of the foreign debt of Haiti. I do wish France could collect all the money she wants from Germany and pay her debt to America, then Frenchmen will begin to break their silence about American doings in Haiti; Spain will also do some talking, and America will find an easy way to get out of Haiti and Santo Domingo.

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Founded in 1868 by General Armstrong to train selected colored youth who should go out to teach and lead their people. In 1878 Indians were first admitted.

Hampton stands for "a sound body, a trained capacity, and an unselfish outlook on life."

Hampton is an industrial village: 1,100 acres; 140 buildings; 850 boarding students, 500 day pupils in practice-school; 600 summer-school students; 200 teachers and workers.

Hampton has over 2,000 graduates and 8,000 former students; also numerous outgrowths, including Tuskegee, founded by Booker T. Washington.

Hampton offers courses in four schools of normal and collegiate grade—Agricultural, Business, Home-Economics, Normal—and in two schools of secondary grade—Academy and Trade (11 four-year courses).

Hampton needs annual scholarships at $100 each and endowed scholarships at $2,500 each; also $135,000 annually above regular income.

JAMES E. GREGG, Principal
FRANK K. ROGERS, Treasurer

ROBERT HUNGERFORD NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL
Incorporated
(Non-Sectarian)

Eatonville, Florida, The Only Incorporated Negro Town in Florida. AN IDEAL HOME FOR YOUR BOY AND GIRL. Near Maitland, Florida, which is our Railroad, Telegraph and Express Station. Summer School Began July 3rd; Regular Fall Term Begins October 5th, 1922; DAY AND NIGHT SESSIONS. Courses include Grammar, Normal and Vocational. Terms reasonable. Send for further information.

S. G. BAKER, D.D.
Principal

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